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MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Summit Briefing Book for Mrs. Reagan

Attached please find materials for Mrs. Reagan's Briefing Book on her visit to Helsinki, Moscow, Leningrad and London, May 25 - June 3, 1988.

We would be pleased to update the materials as additional information about the First Lady's schedule becomes available.

Melvin Levitsky
Melvin Levitsky
Executive Secretary

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BRIEFING BOOK FOR MRS. REAGAN

Visit by the President and Mrs. Reagan
to Helsinki, Moscow, Leningrad, London
May 25 - June 3, 1988

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The Moscow Summit

The President is going to Moscow well prepared for a thorough discussion of issues across our broad agenda. He will have many accomplishments to point to: completion of an historic INF treaty; the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan now underway; the completion of a half-dozen bilateral agreements; and progress in Soviet human rights practices in those areas which the President has traditionally emphasized. However, the visit will not simply record the impressive progress achieved to date; rather, the President will seek to prepare the ground for further progress during the final months of his Administration. The Soviets seem to share this goal: they have joined us in a constructive effort to lay the groundwork for a good substantive meeting in the tradition of the Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington summits.

The President's visit to the Soviet Union will be the first by an American president in fourteen years. Although the visit will be structurally the mirror image of General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev's visit to Washington in December, optically the President's approach will be quite different. Gorbachev met with various groups brought "in" to see him at the Soviet Embassy; in contrast, the President will be reaching "out" to the Soviet people, especially the young. To this end he will meet with religious leaders involved in the restoration of icons at an Orthodox monastery, address a group of student and faculty at Moscow State University, and exchange views with Soviet cultural figures at the Writers' Union.

The central theme of the President's visit will be the goal of achieving a better and more open future: he will challenge his audiences to look beyond today's limits and realize that the future can be different, better and worth striving to achieve. This message encompasses the President's full four-part agenda: human rights, regional issues, bilateral issues and arms control.

As has been the case in every meeting between the two leaders, human rights will have pride of place in the President's discussions with Gorbachev. While stressing that he does not wish to serve as a "prosecutor," the President will press for attention to those issues of greatest concern to the U.S. including: the President's "short list" of special human rights cases, political prisoners, free emigration, the right to free religious expression, and the insistence that the CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Vienna record significant advances on human rights to match progress on military security.

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On arms control, the two leaders may exchange instruments of ratification of the INF agreement they signed in December, if the Senate has acted on the treaty by then. With the INF treaty in place, START is now at the top of the President's arms control agenda. Although the START treaty is still not completed, the President will emphasize his determination to continue working at it, with the goal of achieving a solid, unambiguous agreement that can be verified effectively. The President will also engage Gorbachev in a review of other arms control issues, including the development of a joint text of the Defense and Space Treaty, the joint nuclear testing verification experiments currently underway, conventional forces and chemical weapons.

The Soviets have recently shown greater flexibility in talking about regional conflicts, stressing the need for political solutions based on self-determination and the importance of an enhanced U.S.-Soviet dialogue in achieving this aim. The President can take some credit for this evolution, especially since these concepts have been borrowed from his October 1985 address before the United Nations General Assembly. The President will cover the full range of regional issues in his conversations with Gorbachev, including the Iran-Iraq war, the Middle East peace process, southern Africa, Ethiopia, Cambodia, Korea and Central America. He will press for practical steps aimed at ending these regional conflicts, many of which involve Soviet client regimes. He will also welcome the signing of the Afghanistan withdrawal statement, while reminding Gorbachev that much depends on the Soviets' willingness faithfully to implement the agreement.

The ambitious agenda for expanding bilateral activities agreed to at the Geneva summit will by and large have been achieved by the time the President reaches Moscow. Perhaps a half-dozen bilateral agreements will be ready for signature at this summit. They may include: an agreement on cooperation in the field of transportation; an agreement on a new program for cultural exchanges between the two countries; a fisheries agreement; and agreements involving our Coast Guard and Soviet maritime authorities in such areas as search and rescue and pollution control. There will also be a lot of progress to record under agreements already in force, such as the cultural and people-to-people exchanges.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Gorbachev's Political Situation

General Secretary Gorbachev, while continuing to consolidate his power base, has nonetheless faced some recent high-level challenges to his authority. Most importantly, the last few months have seen an exacerbation of the conflict between Gorbachev and Yegor Ligachev, the number two man in the Politburo. The extent of their disagreements is uncertain, but appears to be over the extent of "glasnost" and "democratization" and over the pace of economic reform. Gorbachev's reform policies are based on the conviction that openness and participation are necessary to make the bureaucracy more accountable and to increase workers' incentives. Ligachev may be concerned that excessive attention to present and past government abuses will undermine public confidence in the party.

Mr. Gorbachev will face a serious test of support for his policies at a Party Conference to be held in June. This conference is an unusual event; the last such conference was held in 1941. Gorbachev may be able to push through some major personnel changes and to change some of the Party rules affecting cadre policy. It will be a key event for Gorbachev, and a successful summit would be an asset -- although probably not a critical one -- as the Conference approaches.

Ethnic Problems

Glasnost and "democratization" have brought many of the Soviet Union's long-standing ethnic problems into the open, and ethnic protests and demonstrations have increased since Gorbachev came to power. Violence erupted last February when Armenians demanded the return to the Republic of Armenia of a region inhabited primarily by Armenians presently incorporated into the Republic of Azerbaijan. Strikes and riots shook the region, requiring military force and arrests to suppress.

The ethnic problem for Gorbachev is larger than this one crisis, however. The Soviet Union is a multinational state with many unresolved ethnic disputes. Virtually every domestic policy and even some foreign policy decisions which Gorbachev makes have an ethnic dimension. This is likely to be a major obstacle to Gorbachev's economic and political reforms.

Foreign Policy Objectives

Gorbachev's primary foreign policy objective has been to achieve stability and predictability in foreign relations in order to create breathing room for domestic reforms. Limiting military expenditures through arms control and cautiously approaching overseas commitments are both foreign policy objectives linked to the economic reform. While Gorbachev's

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primary focus remains on U.S. - Soviet relations, he has also been trying to build new relationships with other countries, including Brazil, China, Indonesia, and Mexico. The Soviet agreement to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan will remove one shadow which has been hanging over Gorbachev's effort to build a "new image" in international affairs.

Economic Issues

In the long-term, Gorbachev is trying to pursue a two-track policy of industrial modernization and structural reform of the economic system. In the short-term, however, he needs to find incentives to offer the workers in order to increase their economic productivity, especially because GNP growth has been sagging recently. Higher wages are a poor motivation for Soviet workers in the absence of increased goods and services. Gorbachev is thus faced with a trade-off between investment in consumer goods to stimulate short-term economic growth and long-term investment in the industrial base needed for his program.

The Anti-Alcohol Campaign

There is a growing sense that Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign has largely been a failure. The campaign, one of Gorbachev's first major policy initiatives, was launched in an effort to increase worker productivity and to reverse the declining male life expectancy. Alcoholism is probably the number one cause of death for Soviet males. Since the supply of vodka was drastically cut, home distilling and black marketeering have increased to fill the resulting gap. Soviet authorities have been forced to ration sugar in parts of the Soviet Union to deal with shortages presumably caused by the increased production of "samogon" -- moonshine. Soviet leaders are also beginning to question the wisdom of the cut-back in the alcohol supply, because vodka sales have long been a major source of revenue for the state. There is also concern that public discontent with the government's alcohol policy is spreading .

The Soviets are beginning to show some interest in alcoholism treatment methods used in the West. The first Alcoholics Anonymous group has started meeting in Moscow, and Soviet experts have come to the United States to look at our clinics and educational programs.

